

# PEACE NEWS

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2d.

## War's Two-Fold Miracle

### Commentary

Edited by "Observer"

A SIGNIFICANT parallelism is to be remarked between a passage in Mr. Eden's Commons speech (Dec. 2) and Sir W. Beveridge's at Oxford (Dec. 6). Said the Foreign Secretary:

I have been impressed by the extent to which, since hostilities have broken out, the Powers fighting together have been able to integrate their foreign policy. It is a depressing thought, but it seems to need an alliance in war to bring about those results which might have prevented the war, could they have been realized in peace.

Sir William, stressing the necessity of abolishing mass-unemployment as the indispensable condition of implementing his proposals, said:

When people say we cannot abolish unemployment, I say we have abolished it twice in my life-time—during the last war and during this war. I simply will not believe it is impossible to abolish mass-unemployment, but I do not know how it is to be done, and I do not know whether anybody else knows.

### Perpetual War

ACCORDING to these two popular statesmen, war accomplishes a twofold miracle: it integrates the foreign policy of discordant nations, and it abolishes mass-unemployment. War hath her victories no less renowned than peace, so to speak. And Mr. Eden and Mr. Beveridge "simply will not believe" that the war-time miracle cannot be performed in peace. That is very touching of them; it

shows a laudable spirit. But neither of them indicates how the peace-time miracle is to be achieved. About unemployment, Sir William confesses that he doesn't know, and doesn't know whether anybody else knows.

Mr. Eden is a little more practical and suggests that the miracle of international co-operation in peacetime should be solved simply by prolonging the war. Of course, he doesn't call it that. He calls it using "the virtual monopoly of armed strength" which the United Nations will possess, when they have won their victory, "to prevent a repetition of aggression." Over and over again I have pointed out that this is the nightmare solution to which British statesmen are committing the country: preparation for perpetual war.

### Alarm in Turkey

TO those outside the charmed circle of war-illusionism, this American-British-Russian condominium does not commend itself. Mr. Eden's speech has immediately aroused alarm in Turkey. The Express correspondent in Istanbul promptly writes:

The speech has had a bad press and writers point out that Russia, who has given no assurances about adherence to the Atlantic Charter, would undoubtedly play a leading part in any policing of Europe after the war. The newspaper Cumhuriyet wants to know "how these three armed forces, whose homelands are in three different parts of the globe, will be able to share the task among themselves. Britain and the USA are essentially naval powers. Will they maintain after the war the land forces now in being? If so, where will those forces be utilized?"

M. Yalchin, writing in Yeni Sabah says: "Who will see to it that one or other of these

Powers conscientiously fulfills its task? Far from having resolved post-war problems, Mr. Eden's words can only increase anxiety regarding them."

That is the inevitable effect on the sentiment of a vital neutral of Mr. Eden's foolishness. He bids fair to be the most dangerous Foreign Secretary we have ever possessed.

### Sumner Welles's View

HIS tactlessness is extreme. In the same speech he quoted Mr. Sumner Welles's speech of June last. Mr. Welles, to do him justice, wore his rue with a vital difference. "Peace—freedom from fear," he said, "cannot be assured until the nations of the world, particularly the great Powers, recognize that the threat of war anywhere throughout the globe threatens their own security, and until they are jointly willing to exercise the police powers necessary to prevent such threats from materializing into armed conflict." That suggested that "the nations of the world" meant all the nations of the world. However, Mr. Welles did go on to say:

Another essential is the reaching of agreement between the United Nations, before the Armistice is signed, upon those international adjustments which we believe to be desirable and necessary for the maintenance of a peaceful and prosperous world for the future.

### Straight Questions

THESE two sentences Mr. Eden interpreted as support for his own "policy." It seems rather careless that he should so have misread them. And then he went on to say:

I regard that speech as an epitome of good sense. I believe that it indicates and

represents the great bulk of opinion at this time. It represents a firm resolve to fulfil a leading role after the war, and thus to accept world-wide responsibilities for maintaining peace.

Nothing could have been better calculated to embarrass Mr. Welles than the last sentence. And that probably explains why, on Dec. 6, Mr. Welles re-stated his position. After saying "The foreign policy of any nation must inevitably be a policy of self-interest," he suggested that there were "two straight questions" which Americans might well ask themselves: (1) Would they not have been better advised if they had joined the League of Nations? (2) If they "had been willing a generation ago to bear their fair share of responsibility for the maintenance of world-order," would they be fighting today?

Yet another question Mr. Welles asked: "We realize now that in this war this form of association of the peoples struggling to preserve their liberty is vitally necessary to the safety of our nation. Do we realise that an association of the free peoples of the United Nations when the war is won is just as essential to the future security of this country?"

As the Latin grammar said, the question expects the answer "No."

### U.S. Constitution

AND that is the answer it is getting. The Washington correspondent of the Times (Dec. 5) tells of the development of the opposition to President Roosevelt in the Senate and in Congress. He reports a debate in the Senate.

Senator Taft (Republican, Ohio) took the leading part. Briefly, he contended that the Atlantic Charter... and the agreement whereby the United Nations pledged themselves not to make a separate peace were mere statements of presidential policy and not wholly binding. He, with another Republican, Senator Donaher, declared that the "attempt to incorporate the Atlantic Charter in Lend-Lease agreements made by the Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, was" wholly void and not binding on the US Government. And another Republican, Senator Vandenberg, remarked that it was "terribly important that the world should understand this, so as not to mistake the nature of the agreements."

These Senators are not (I believe) the most extreme isolationists; in any case, they are simply asserting the indisputable constitutional doctrine of the USA. President Roosevelt cannot commit the USA as Mr. Churchill can commit Britain. It is, indeed, "terribly important" that we should understand that the United States is committed to nothing, and that there is no solid evidence whatever for that "firm resolve to accept world-wide responsibilities for maintaining peace" which Mr. Eden imputes to the USA. Mr. Eden may believe it, because he wants to believe it. But it is the duty of a competent

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## ★ The Cross of Thought ★

MEN are constantly tempted to turn problems into battles and so escape the cross of thought. A calvary of self-realization is implicit in the life of every pacifist.

In Mr. J. L. Hammond's life of C. P. Scott, he says that Painlevé, the French statesman, once said to an Englishman: "You and I know, as educated men, that France can never recover from the war unless she forgives Germany; but," he added, "that is too hard a truth for the people of France."

Nor are "hard truths" unpalatable to French minds only. "English minds," Mr. Harold Nicholson has observed, "do not like information or ideas to be sharply outlined; they like them to possess the soft dimness of bluebells in a wood."

To illustrate: "After the war we intend to find the car park movement in order to find work for some of the large number of men who will be returning crippled by service." No sharply outlined New Order about that; oh, no. Just bluebell-mindedness.

It contrasts starkly with the feelings of the man likely to be crippled. "I feel, after all this," he writes, "that I can never fall in with the normal system as it is—it's all wrong somehow—and yet I have no definite idea in mind as to what I want to live like."

### Ends, Not Means

Where to begin? To the soldier, no less than the pacifist, the ends to be achieved by violence matter more than violence itself. Particularly now, when "war of nerves" is no empty phrase, unities with the rest of the community need to be stressed;

not disunities. It would be ideal, surely, if it could be said of pacifists that it was not they who think, but humanity that thinks in them.

Ruskin rather sounds the right note of a basic one-ness of purpose: "If we can get men, for little pay, to cast themselves against cannon mouths for England, we may find men also who will plough and sow for her, who will behave kindly and righteously for her and who will bring up her children to love her."

A word here concerning pacifist statesmanship. In the long run a leader who can get much done is he who is carried on the crest of a wave of moral determination which was really there in the hearts of the people themselves. *Volksgemeinschaft*, or comradeship of the people, as it applies to Herr Hitler. Sir Stafford Cripps, for our part, was regarded as likely to be such a leader. But it is doubted now. A pity he is not a pacifist. Moreover, in parenthesis, how fruitful his contacts with Mr. Gandhi could have been.

### Mobilizing For Death

Perhaps the great need is for a synthesis of knowledge. Largely unrelated specialisms tend more and more to dominate our lives. Nor can it be stated too often that great men do not need to destroy a former civilization to create a new one. Lucretius, the old pagan, still speaks with devastating appositeness across 2,000 years. "Great empires are, and always were, co-incident with fear."

Similarly, though it is fashionable to decry Liberalism, words of Gladstone in regard to Irish Home Rule could scarcely be bettered concerning India now. "If we say we must postpone the question (Irish Home Rule) till the state of the country is more fit for it, I should answer that the least danger is in going forward at

present. It is Liberty alone which fits men for Liberty." A world under the spell of Herr Hitler sadly lacks such a faith today.

Supreme tragedy, in all countries the most highly trained brain-power is mobilized—for death and destruction. Correspondingly the responsibility of pacifists—as men and women who think for themselves—is enormous. How enormous is indicated by Mr. Aldous Huxley. "Technological progress has merely provided us with more efficient means for going backwards. The only real progress is progress in charity."

Again, in one terse and authoritative sentence Mr. Harold Butler, late ILO Director from Geneva, sums up a decade. "The last peace was lost," he writes, because "the policies of the nations were empty of charity towards each other, dictated by nothing nobler than a close-fisted calculation of self-interest."

### The Pain of a New Idea

Pacifism can never be bluebell-mindedness. "One of the greatest pains of human nature," wrote Walter Bagehot, "is the pain of a new idea." Such a new idea is Pacifism. Significantly, Pacifism combats the exploitation of the dumb, docile, mass mind. The need, in this but one of many directions, was never more urgent.

Thus, the nerve-tingling challenge to all pacifists is to be like Goethe, that great German and citizen of the world, who, at thirty, resolved to "work out life no longer by halves, but in all its beauty and totality."

And if even now a trace of perhaps natural patriotism still lingers, how about our own Robert Browning:

When the fight begins within himself,  
A man's worth something.

HAROLD WILSON

### CREDIT GOES TO PACIFISM

THE moment when the spirit of Christmas generosity descends is near at hand. See that the Fighting Fund benefits to the utmost by it.

From the time it was started in its present form, not a single emergency demand has had to be met, so that, if this good fortune continues, it will be wholly devoted to its constructive purpose: the establishment of an independent pacifist printing press and publishing house.

A friend has taken a welcome initiative. He has promised us £10 from his first deferred credit on Income Tax. If his example is widely followed, as I hope it will be, it will create a valuable capital reserve, payable at a time when we shall urgently need it.

Contributions since Nov. 24: £30. 12s. 3d. Total to date: £3,983 4s. 4d.

### THE EDITOR

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## The Unknown Future

AS the publication of the Beveridge report drew near, an impressive section of the press, including The Times, the Manchester Guardian, and The Economist, showed more and more alarm at the obvious reluctance of the Government to make any advance in social policy. The alarm is genuine. Not one of these organs could be plausibly accused of trying to exploit the war-situation in favour of an advanced social programme; but they share a common fear that unless some of the fundamental legislation for a planned society is passed betimes, the end of the war will precipitate the country into domestic catastrophe.

On the other hand it is being said that the Right has been equally alarmed by the overt alliance between the Archbishop of Canterbury and Sir Stafford Cripps, and has taken advantage of the optimism induced by the apparent turn of the military tide, to get rid of Cripps, in the nick of time, before the publication of the Beveridge report. Like most such stories, it is probably too definite. But if it is not true, it is well invented. It expresses the current political trend.

Presumably, therefore, the Right does not believe in the danger apprehended by the centre progressives: a revolutionary situation after the war. Nothing but ad hoc and temporary legislation is required. For the first business of the post-war period will be to scuttle back to the safety of pre-war conditions.

To us it seems a fantastic expectation. One might understand the attitude of the Right if they had made up their minds that the future was to be one of perpetual preparation for total war; and that the country must be organised permanently on a war-footing—in short, that Britain should do after the war what Germany did before it, with the almost immaterial difference that, whereas Germany was organized to conquer Europe, Britain would be organized to police it. Such a view of the future would be a rational ground for resisting all change beyond what was imperatively and obviously demanded by the actual war-situation. Since in fact the condition of war would never end, there would be little sense in making preparation for peace.

But apparently the Right harbours no such thoughts. It vaguely dreams of the coming of something called Peace, after the pattern envisaged by Mr. Neville Chamberlain. Government controls, except where they buttress monopoly capitalism, will be abolished. Britain will set out to regain her foreign markets, and London will become the world's financial centre once more.

That sounds like stark insanity; but may be there is method in the madness. No matter what the organization of society, short of anarchy or anarchism, some body of people must be in control. Keep the control as long as you can. Give nothing whatever away. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. If the revolutionary situation, which the cleverer people fear, actually comes, you may have a chance of keeping on too. If not, you remain on top. Or may be the reasoning is subtler: the less we give way, the more certain is it that the post-war situation will require really drastic handling. By simply clinging to our democratic right to be obstinate, we ensure that democracy will be liquidated in favour of authoritarianism without an interregnum. We shall enact the history of the Rump Parliament in reverse.

Do they know what they are doing or not? Are they obstinate by calculation or instinct? Again, how far is a warrantable fear of any centrally planned society contributory to their attitude? And what after all, is the Right in Britain today? Has it any national coherence at all? Where is the point at which the respectable traditionalist, fogged (as we all are) by the effort to distinguish between economic and personal liberty, fades into the big business man with no thought save profit? We do not profess to know. But our finding is that the Right is no more wicked than the Left. The whole body politic is gripped by fear of the unknown future. On the one hand are those who fear to do nothing, on the other those who fear to do anything. In a little while, perhaps, they will be united in a common fear even of winning the war.

## Unemployment & Hitler

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY  
(Continued from page one)

Foreign Secretary to be better informed. He should read The Times, anyhow.

### Tide Missed?

THE Germans are not out of Tunisia and Libya yet, nor even out of Stalingrad. Some say it is only a temporary set-back that the British have encountered in Libya, a momentary episode in the large-scale rearguard action which the Germans are fighting in N. Africa; others—Capt. Liddell Hart, for example (Daily Mail, Dec. 7)—regard it much more seriously, as at least an indication that the turn of the tide has been missed.

The forces advancing from the West upon Tunisia did not exploit to the full the opportunity of initial surprise. What, then, would have happened had the arrangement with Darlan not been made? It appears that Gen. Eisenhower's victory so far has been more diplomatic than military; and that, without Darlan's co-operation, it might have been a sad story. At any rate it proves that it never does to look a gift horse in the mouth.

### Year of Victory?

ACCORDING to one account, the Germans have achieved the impossible.

By an incredible feat of organization, Field-Marshal Kesselring of the Luftwaffe managed to throw over the Sicilian narrows a mighty air-umbrella which gave the Nazis temporary air-supremacy in the vital Tunisian triangle (News Review, Dec. 3).

Apparently, too, it is by a flexible use of the air-arm that the Germans have saved their situation at Stalingrad. "The unprecedentedly extensive use of transport planes may to some extent account for the check to the Russian plans" (Sunday Times,

Dec. 6). Nevertheless, President Benes is sure that it is the beginning of the end, rather than the end of the beginning.

In October and November, therefore, a definite turning-point was reached in the world-war in favour of the Allies, and we had entered the final and victorious phase of this great struggle. (M. Guardian, Dec. 5).

1943, Benes definitely assures us, will be the year of victory. I must leave the authorities to settle it among themselves.

### Vested Interests

THE vested interests, says The Observer (Dec. 6), are lying low and sayin' nuffin' about the Beveridge report. They are waiting till the popular excitement has abated. Nevertheless, the representatives of the approved societies are vehement; and the huge enterprises built on small-scale industrial insurance—collecting twopence a week for funeral benefit and the like—will certainly finance a tearing campaign against the proposal to put an end to their lucrative and extortionate business. 7s. 6d. in every pound collected in premiums by these companies is absorbed in administration expenses—and profits. Sir William proposes to replace it by a State insurance which will cost 6d. in the £ to administer. Yet even he has so far to indulge the curious taste for elaborate funerals as to fix funeral benefit at £20, while maternity benefit is £4!

### Beveridge Assumptions

THE most serious criticism of the report is that anticipated by Sir William himself when he says that he assumes that unemployment will be kept from rising above 8½%. It was well above this figure from 1927 to the outbreak of the war. It was outside Sir William's province to suggest how it could be maintained at this low level; and, as remarked above, he positively disclaims all knowledge of how to abolish unemployment. That, of course, does not imply that he does not know how to keep it down to 8½%. But I should like to hear his suggestions.

He postulates that international co-operation must replace international competition and war. But how is this to be done if Mr. Eden's policy prevails? Again, the Beveridge proposals depend on the assumption that the cost of living will not rise more than 25% above pre-war level. It is nearly 80% above already. The possibility of pegging it at 25% above

depends on "Government policies of employment and price-stabilization" (Times, Dec. 2). What are these policies—for after the war? Who knows anything at all about them? Is there any reason to believe that they exist?

### Well-treated Slaves

THE TIMES thinks not; and so do I. All that has happened is the creation of another impotent Department. Meanwhile, one of the pitifully few roads of escape from the servile state that is closing in upon us has been ruthlessly cut off. In the interests of war-production a mortal blow has been dealt to individual craft-industry. The materials allowed to the craftsman maker of furniture or pottery are to be cut to zero!

As Mr. MacLaren said in the Commons, Dec. 2: "It is not enough to talk of working men and employers, as if God had created men to be nothing more or less than creatures engaged in some eternal factory process." Yet that is what they are being condemned to today. There is less and less possibility of escape, save on and to the land. And that requires a capital of £50 an acre.

Mr. MacLaren shall speak again: "Let us not be easily trapped into these schemes that are put in front of us, because we may be ensnared into economic slavery in the guise of being well-fed and well-housed."

### "Somehow or Other"

TO that, not even the economic intelligence of Sir George Schuster had a reply. "I share with the hon. member for Burslem (Mr. MacLaren) his passionate desire for liberty, but somehow or other we have to devise some machinery which, while preserving scope for flexibility and individual freedom, yet produces a co-ordinated national activity. That is the great problem before the world today. It is a matter of desperate importance. There is the very real danger, to which several hon. members have referred that in making ourselves strong to defeat Hitler, we may sacrifice the very things for which we are fighting" (Hansard, Dec. 2).

And there we reach the old familiar impasse: the point at which all the able political minds arrive, and beyond which they cannot pass. "Somehow or other".... But how? The paralysis of the Government is a more intense reflection of the paralysis of the political consciousness of the country as a whole. And it is foolishly believed that it is more important to defeat Hitler than to discover how to abolish unemployment by other than totalitarian means. Yet to do that is to defeat Hitler: for he is the embodiment of the German failure to discover another way.

JOHN SCANLON considers the Beveridge Report in the light of

## ECONOMIC FACTS

The Beveridge Report can now be put to the only test that matters. Publication of the details allow us to examine how it will work in practice, if and when it becomes law.

LIKE every other measure of social reform, the real tests are: (1) Will it increase material wealth, and if so will it ensure a better distribution of the increased wealth? (2) If it does not result in increased material wealth, will it ensure a better distribution of existing wealth?

On point (1) I notice in the Daily Mail that the psychological effect will be to make people work harder because it provides something to work for. On the other hand there is the widely held view that the fear of want is the greatest spur to human endeavour.

But both the Daily Mail and the other point of view are insistent that, in the words of the Daily Mail, "the country must work hard to get it and keep it." Actually there is nothing in the arithmetic of the Report which even hints at a method of increasing wealth. In fact, the Report states in its final section (VI) that the first condition of freedom from want is

that the world after the war is a world in which the nations set themselves to co-operate for production in peace, rather than to plotting for mutual destruction by war, whether open or concealed. (p. 168).

Readers will now see the force of a previous article by the present writer. For here is a public already arguing very strenuously over the merits and demerits of the arithmetic, when in reality all the merits of the arithmetic, according to Sir William Beveridge, are dependent on a set of conditions being created which are extraneous to the Report.

It may even be that, if the conditions of point (1) as quoted were in operation, the Report would be quite unnecessary. The question is: Can we make the conditions of point (1) effective by arguing whether one can really get 9d. for 4d. or 1s. 3d. for 4d?

### FIRST PAY-DAY

But let us assume that the Report is accepted as the law of the land before point (1) is in operation. Existing wealth is the same, the method of dividing existing wealth is the same. It is first pay day under the Beveridge Report. The worker goes

to draw his pay and finds he is 4s. 3d. short.

In whatever way we try to juggle with those figures on paper, to the worker it is a reduction in spending power. Can he afford a reduction of 4s. 3d. per week? We may say he can; but the worker and his family will not agree, and with some justice. In 1937 there were 15,600,000 people in Britain earning less than £150 per year. Commenting on the figures the Ministry of Labour Gazette said:

Comparatively few adult male industrial workers earn more than £3. 10s. per week, and in some occupations their weekly wages average less than £3 per week. The earnings of the vast majority of women in industry are well represented by an average of 81s. per week.

But whether they can afford the Beveridge proposals has never been considered. With wages too low to allow a reasonable standard of life when working, they are now to pay 4s. 3d. per week (3s. 6d. for women) in order to ensure a reasonable standard of life when they are unemployed, sick, or aged.

### CAN'T BE DONE?

Now take the other side. The employer has to pay 3s. 3d. per week for the over-21's. Can the employer afford it? If today he were asked to raise wages by 3s. 4d. per week he would lay his hand on his heart and swear it could not be done. Possibly he would be telling the truth.

For look at it this way. If there was a single trade union which believed its employer would or could pay 3s. per week increase in wages, it would be demanding that 3s. at once. But if he cannot possibly pay a 3s. increase in wages, how can he pay 3s. for a potential idleness?

It is not a question of morality. It is a question of economic facts.

But, says Sir William Jowitt, surely we can increase our exports. But what reason does the employer give for having lost export trade? The answer is always High Costs. Can we compete with Japanese bicycles at 16s. each, or men's singlets at 2s. 6d. per dozen? We cannot do it now; and with 3s. 3d. per week per man for insurance, plus increased income tax, the task will not be easier.

Moreover, for nearly twenty years statesmen have been telling us that anything which increased costs or income tax would inevitably drive us from foreign markets.

If the producer in the export trades may not be able to pass on the charge, the producer in the home trade might. We have to assume, of course, that the employer works on the narrowest possible margin of profit. That being the case, if he does not pass on the charge, his profit may be gone. But to whom is he to pass it on?

There are two known ways—an increase to the consumer or a reduction in wages. But who is the consumer? The consumers are those 15,600,000 persons who earn less than £3 per week. They are also the persons who will have 3s. less to spend per week to pay their own contributions.

No matter how we argue, or how much we boast, there are certain fundamental economic truths which nothing alters; one is, that all wealth is derived from human effort and human ingenuity applied to the natural resources. Whoever is credited in the books with paying the finance of the Beveridge Report, it must originally come from productive effort.

And what of those terrifying things, the Exchange Markets? In 1931 New York said Mr. Snowden was spending more than his gold reserve and his trade balance warranted. Lease-Lend will end. Someday someone will say that our gold reserves and our trade balance do not justify expenditure on social services. This time they may even be right.

### BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY

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was the repeated disparagement of democracy and political freedom, and the pointed linking of the evils of our economic system with democracy and freedom. One aim of the party is a "new order of constitutional government." The only hints we could gather as to the nature of this "new order" were sneers at democracy and at "bureaucratic control" and the demand for "personal responsibility." This seems to us to imply the Fuehrer prinzip.

In the economic realm the party appears to stand for a system of private ownership of property doctored by monetary and exchange control. "Vested Interests," Communism and "Financial Control" are all attacked vigorously and "planning" is also condemned. The party's appeal is apparently directed mainly to the "lower classes" on an "against Vested Interests and Communism" basis.

The party apparently envisages the continuance of the Empire on the same basis as at present and a class society on a new basis, but what that basis was we could not discover.

Finally, we examined the party's attitude to the present war. In one document it stands for a victorious conclusion, in another for "an honourable settlement" and in a third it angles for pacifist support and recommends pacifist pamphlets on "Night Bombing" (from which Germany, not ourselves, is now suffering), "Why Hitler?" and "Why Blunder on?" The strategy recommended is to concentrate on sea power and give up the attempt to raise a continental army.

Our deduction from this analysis is that the party seems to have more in common both politically and economically with the German Nazi party than with the PPU.

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# Arthur Ponsonby starts a new series of Monthly REFLECTIONS

**T**HE word "frustrated" is often used in describing the feelings of our members in the PPU. This is really not quite accurate. We are not thwarted or prevented from saying something vital which we very much want to say. But we are thoroughly bewildered as to what we should say and when we should say it.

I have always maintained that of the three stages: (1) Before war is declared (2) While war is being waged (3) After hostilities have ceased; (2) is the one which affords us the least opportunity of being effectively articulate. This does not mean that we must be condemned to silent inactivity. On the contrary, we must sedulously collect data in preparation for the 3rd stage and also for the information of our successors.

Our heartening and inspiring start in the first stage misled us into supposing that the huge audiences flocked to the halls to hear the expression of principles with which they heartily agreed, whereas they really came in their hundreds to see and hear our founder. Now at this stage, many, and I among them, have wanted from the early days to see the war stopped. But knowing from the past the fate of pacifist pleas and resolutions for peace by negotiation, I have felt Richard Cobden was right when he said that to press for peace with a nation at war was like trying to argue with a mad dog.

## A Better World

**B**UT the dilemma does not end there. It recurs in pleading in the third stage, joined probably by many others, for a better world (and I have avoided so far from ever attempting to describe it). Say it meant gradual disarmament, the renunciation of aggressive imperialism on all sides, enlightened social reconstruction, and the sincere tackling of the ills of poverty and unemployment. Of course one can add in detail much else.

What then? If such a change were actually brought about, should we not be declaring that by force and massacre, by starvation and destruction, by torture and cruelty such as humanity has never yet experienced, a wholly beneficial purpose can be achieved? Do any of us for a moment believe such a fallacious paradox? Then am I only saying in a round about way that we had better put up the shutters and lock the door of Dick Sheppard House? Not at all.

## Our Job

**Y**OU have of course seen the catch. I have been describing Utopia, and some of you have been wondering whom I have in my mind's eye as the leader and constructor of this splendid new world. Do I see him in the ranks of the powerful plutocracy which we will insist on calling a democracy? Of course not. There is no such person.

Our job is not to describe perfection as an attainable ideal; but to be well prepared for the fatal drift back to the old order and to grim measures which will lead us back yet again to the horrors of war. To mention only one which is indelibly stamped on the official mind, obsessed as it will be by insistence on punishment and retribution: the enormous further development of the Air Force and the general strengthening of armaments. Yes, it will be our busiest testing time of endeavour, and we must be combative.

## Enigmatic Cripps

**I** HAVE just been reading a book on the career of the mystery man ("Cripps, a Portrait and a Prospect" by Froom Tyler, George G. Harrap and Co.) The author modestly states that the book is nothing more than "a journalistic impression". At any rate, it is very good journalism and gives the difficult and complex proceedings of the Ambassador in Moscow and the Government delegate's handling of the Indian problem with remarkable clearness. I was left with the impression that in spite of Stafford Cripps's remarkable talents there was something lacking in his equipment as a politician.

The day after I had finished this telling sketch, the newspaper headlines informed me that Stafford Cripps had been removed from the War Cabinet. The Prime Minister would not have done this had there not been some serious difference of opinion. So the mystery man becomes an enigma. He has not left the Government but has accepted an important but subordinate post.

Mr. Froom Tyler ends his book with a

P.P.U. Calendars in Welsh, also an English version of the same, are obtainable from Mrs. A. E. Humphreys, 9 Gloucester Drive, Wrexham. price 6d. each and postage.

query. In pointing to the larger liberty of the world in prospect "forever free from the age-long fear and tragedy of poverty and war", he asks, "But into that larger liberty we must be led, and if not by Cripps by whom?"

## Power Through Pain

**I** HOPE Vera Brittain's "Humiliation with Honour" is being widely read. As we all know, she has a remarkable talent for clothing profound thoughts in the simplest language.

A striking passage in the book is the description, in the second section, of the language used officially and in the press which purposely conceals from us the extent of human suffering in this war by impersonal expressions to which we become accustomed and which guard people against "the sensitive response of their own humanity to the humanity of others." Our imagination must be prevented from reaching any full realization of what is actually going on day by day.

Vera Brittain's object is to demonstrate that through pain and humiliation a spiritual power may be created through deep sympathy and understanding by which humanity may be redeemed from the hideous evils now prevailing in the world of today.

# PACIFISM & POLITICS

## Letters to the Editor

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 250 words

**Y**OUR leading article, Pacifism and Politics, interested me greatly, as did the letter on the same subject from H. Barratt. The pacifist, I take it, testifies against war; that is his negative approach to the problem. His efforts should be directed towards ending the war by compromise and negotiation; that is, or should be, his positive contribution to society.

Unfortunately, this war has been represented as a struggle between ideologies which are supposed to be in conflict. I believe that this conception is utterly mistaken, and, if the fallacy could be exploded, the peace movement would grow in strength and unity. Pacifists and non-pacifists who are opposed to the war should offer their support to any party which aims at negotiation irrespective of its class colouring.

I firmly believe that after this war the Left and the Right will have become indistinguishable and the present-day labels will have lost their meaning. As things are, however, it is more likely that a strong move for peace will come from those who are labelled "Right", and if pacifists are to be frightened by labels they will find themselves jockeyed into the position of supporting the war!

I am not arguing that the ends justify the means. What I would advocate is that all movements which favour a negotiated peace should unite with this end in view. There is no need to surrender one's conscience on matters of internal politics.

Any sort of negotiated peace is obviously better than perpetual war.

**I. WAVENEY GIRVAN.**  
103 Promenade, Cheltenham.

The fervid applause of Comrade Engleheart for your leader (Nov. 27) gives point to a criticism we hesitated to express. While welcoming your exposure of the absurdity of "pacifist-communism" we find it difficult to believe that a pacifist "can as legitimately be a Conservative as a Socialist in domestic politics."

Is not pacifist-conservatism just as much a contradiction in terms as "pacifist-communism"? A "pacifist-conservative" would need to believe that capitalist-democracy, the society to be conserved, makes for peace. John Middleton Murry commented cogently on this in "Revolution Through Peace" (PN, 30.10.37).

The pacifist who does not realize that modern society is an economic whole which is today being kept in motion chiefly by armaments-production has a great deal to learn... Pacifism is revolution through peace; if not, it is the opium of the middle-class.

If "Conservatism" is, however, used in the idealistic sense of reluctance to yield to change until it is demonstrably necessary, then "Com-

# One Year of Food Relief

By Dr. ALEX WOOD

**T**HE first warnings of impending famine in Europe are over two years old. But in this country, at least, the public were slow to heed. It was not until conditions in Greece were catastrophic that widespread interest was manifested; and it was not until March of this year, after the Bishop of Chichester's moving appeal to the Lords, that any substantial relief was attempted on the initiative of the British authorities.

A few emergency shipments—about 22,000 tons in all—were sent, and later a regular supply of 15,000 tons of breadgrains from Canada each month, or under half of Greece's grain imports in peacetime. Lately, this supply has been varied to include some dried cereals—and 100 tons of dried milk.

Study of the Parliamentary answers on food relief shows that concessions have been grudgingly wrung from the Government, in each case after a time-lag measured in human life. Pacifists have taken the lead in arguing the case for mitigating

munism" ought to be similarly treated, and derive not from Stalin but from William Morris, in which case "pacifist-communism" is no longer an absurdity. Tolerance, you rightly insist, is vital—but it is tolerance of persons, not of ideas.

**BILL GRINDLAY**  
**DONALD PORT**  
**RONALD H. SMITH**  
**HOWARD WHITTEN**

8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1.

It is difficult to differentiate between non-pacifists and those pacifists who will only agree to peace at a certain time and under certain conditions.

The only apparent difference is that, whereas the former is prepared to do his own fighting to get his own terms, the latter feels it his duty to sit back and tell the other man not to stop the conflict until the time is ripe for a strictly "pacifist" peace.

**WINIFRED A. M. GREENFIELD**  
36 Orchard Av., Parkstone.

The letters which have appeared in PN recently advocating collaboration with Fascists in opposition to the war seem to me to substantiate Jawaharlal Nehru's objections to the PPU. Because the English pacifist movement has no concept of peace apart from the absence of war, he argued, it has become scarcely distinguishable from those who are anti-war because they are pro-Fascist.

I had hoped that in the past two years our movement had begun to move towards a common concept of peace and away from sentimentalism. We cannot speak for peace on the same platform as a Fascist if by peace we mean, as I presume we do mean, something diametrically opposed to Fascist peace. Nor can we unite in saying "stop the war", because when it comes to saying how and why we should stop the war we should find ourselves once more at variance. Specious "unity" is worthless. Recent history has shown that Popular Fronts soon gravitate to the level of their least scrupulous elements.

Gandhi has always insisted on the spiritual integration of his movement for Indian freedom. When one individual has imperilled its moral homogeneity by unseemly conduct he has abandoned a campaign. If the pacifist movement is to make any impact upon British society it must have achieved a moral homogeneity of a similar order. Flirtations with Fascists will not accelerate this process.

**MAURICE CRANSTON**  
375 Russell Court, W.C.1.

## British National Party

This Group has noticed the advertisements of the British National Party which have appeared in your columns, and has obtained and studied the literature of the party. Your readers may be interested in the results of our study.

The first thing that struck us about the literature of the party was its nationalism. Not only does the word "National" appear in the party's title, but the literature emphasizes the word "Britons" from time to time, and one of the principal aims is to "safeguard the integrity, liberty and national traditions of the British people against alien influence and infiltration." This idea is elaborated in a passage which seems to condemn any "League of Nations" idea or any surrender of national sovereignty, and in an appeal to small traders to support the party in its fight against multiple shops and co-operatives and the aliens who run them. This latter seems to us an appeal which must tend towards anti-Jewish prejudice.

Another striking thing about the literature

(Continued on page 2)

**T**HE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

**I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.**

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

**PPU HEADQUARTERS,**  
Dick Sheppard House,  
6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

the worst horrors which war has visited upon our luckless allies. There is no reason why they should: in America it was quite otherwise.

But the case for controlled food relief has never been argued on pacifist premises, with the result that many men of good will, notably in the Christian churches, have vigorously championed this cause. The Famine Relief Committee has recruited eminent support for its efforts to urge prompt action, and its recent memorandum to the Government was presented by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal Hinsley.

## PACIFIST INITIATIVE

In most parts of the country, however, the initiative rests with pacifists. They will be fortified by the most recent statement by Mr. Dingle Foot, that "the wheat sent as a gift from Canada has, so far, been distributed without interference by the occupying authorities" (Commons, Nov. 17).

The resurgence of American opinion in favour of relief measures wherever practicable is another cause for gratitude. The little that has been done—successfully—is additional argument for the much that could be done. Nothing at all has been permitted for Belgium or Poland, where conditions are probably as desperate as in Greece.

Without giving the impression that the present relief is adequate for the need of the Greeks we must seek by all the forms of public activity open to us—press correspondence, public meetings, literature distribution, shop displays, pressure on political bodies and MPs—to gain support for the "minimum" proposals being canvassed by the Famine Relief Committee.

## MAKING FACTS KNOWN

Much work remains to be done in making the facts known. The public have to be disabused of the notion that famine anywhere is simply a matter of Axis depredations; the complex causes of famine have to be explained, and our own share of guilt and responsibility emphasized; the extent of famine and its effect on the children and adolescents brought home to our people.

If they know the facts they inevitably respond. Our prime task is to make them known, for our prime difficulty is not in ships, or money, or food—all are available when relief proposals are agreed upon—but in policy. In every town and village this has to be made clear, and the terrible urgency of bold and generous action impressed on our responsible statesmen.

Suggestions for local activity are available from the PPU Food Relief Campaign at Dick Sheppard House, where there is also obtainable a revised list of publications which are still of use in creating an informed public opinion.

## P.P.U. Executive statement on JOHN BARCLAY

**I**T has been brought to the notice of the National Council and the Executive Committee that a petition is being circulated for the purpose of securing the re-instatement of John Barclay. The Council do not wish in any way to curb expression of opinions from Groups and individuals and on many occasions have specifically asked for them, particularly where some question of policy has had to be decided.

The question of John Barclay's resignation was not, however, a matter of difference of policy, and the decision was only taken after every consideration had been given at three successive meetings of the Council to reports from Area Representatives, Groups, and individuals. The Council do not believe it to be practicable to put before the Movement all the considerations which led to the decision they ultimately took, and they believe that this kind of decision can best be taken by those who, as the chosen representatives of the Movement, can consider such matters from every angle.

These and other considerations were urged in a letter which Alex Wood recently sent to John Barclay at the unanimous request of the Council. It has been decided to make the contents of the letter and of John Barclay's reply to it available for any PPU member who cares to apply for copies. Those who are interested in the petition can obtain further information from Arthur Baynton, 9 Bedford St., Woburn, Bucks.

## essential information:

# What Gandhi Really Said

A series of extracts from the last issue of HARIJAN before his arrest including his letter 'To the Japanese.'

**AN IMPORTANT PAMPHLET AT A VERY LOW PRICE**

**1d** (post free, 2d.) from The P.P.U. Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.



## National Service Bill Protest

AT the last meeting of the Central Board the following resolution was carried unanimously:

The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, representing 17 national organizations and 14 Regional Boards in England, Scotland, and Wales, protests against the extension of conscription to youths under eighteen years of age.

Even now tribunals argue that some of the applicants are too young to have been able to form a considered judgment. We therefore urge that the right to register provisionally as a conscientious objector should not lapse before a man's eighteenth birthday, whether or not he has been medically examined.

The request for this safeguard should, however, in no way be regarded as indicating any relaxation of our inflexible opposition to the whole principle of conscription for war.

The Independent Labour Party have an amendment to reject the Bill.

### DENIS HAYES JAILED

Denis Hayes, Editor of the OBCO Bulletin, was prosecuted at Hampstead Police Court on Dec. 2 for refusing to register for fire watching.

Pleading "guilty" Denis Hayes said that as a follower of Christ he was an objector to military service and conscription for war. He had been registered unconditionally by a CO tribunal, and he believed that conscription today is the only thing that makes war possible.

"I believe in democracy quite as much as those taking part in this war," said Denis Hayes. "But it seems to me that acquiescence in the claims of the State to conscript for war purposes will prove to be the first nail in the coffin of democracy. I hope I shall have strength to resist it whether under democratic Government or a Nazi Government."

Saying that they completely failed to apprehend his position, the bench fined Denis Hayes £5 with one guinea costs or one month's imprisonment, which he is serving. Denis Hayes's imprisonment will delay the December issue of the Bulletin, which is also held up by difficulties with regard to paper allowance.

John Wray, of Kensington, who was four

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor Peace News itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. (Still less does the acceptance of advertisements imply endorsement of any views expressed or implied therein or PPU connection with the matter advertised). Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used. They may not be returned unless a stamped addressed envelope is enclosed, nor can we undertake to acknowledge all correspondence owing to increased cost of postage.

### LONDON REGIONAL BOARD FOR C.O.s

#### C.O.s AND INVASION

A Meeting of Advisory Bureaux Workers and C.O.s in Civil Defence will be held on SAT., DEC. 12, at 2.30 p.m. sharp.

at FRIENDS' HOUSE, Euston Rd., London N.W.1

Speakers: PETER HUNOT, RONALD SMITH, ROBERT S. W. POLLARD. Chairman: LEONARD TRAYNER

### QUAKER SERVICE IN EAST LONDON

For East End Kiddies  
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times sentenced by court-martial in the last war, and was imprisoned for one month last April for failing to register for fire watching, was prosecuted yesterday for repeated failure to register under the latest regulations. This is the first time that "Cat and Mouse" procedure has been used in this connection, and vigorous protests are being made.

The Rev. Sydney Spencer, well known Unitarian minister, of Liverpool, who was last April fined £5 for refusing to register for fire-watching, was summoned again on Nov. 26 on a similar charge, and fined £10. The earlier fine had been paid anonymously and Mr. Spencer again refused to pay a fine. 10 days were allowed for payment.

The first case is reported of the prosecution of a woman for failing to register under the Registration for Employment Order. Miss Kitty Alexander, secretary of the Newcastle PPU Region, was fined £5 at Newcastle Moot Hall on Dec. 2, and as she refused to pay she was sent to prison for one month. A large number of her supporters were in court, and on hearing the sentence one of them called out: "Freedom is in peril, defend it with all your might!"

Miss Jacqueline Downing, of Gloucester Gate Mews, Regent's Park, stating that she objected to being conscripted for any service in connection with the war, told the London Tribunal at Fulham on Dec. 3, according to that day's E. Standard, "I am an actress, and if by using my ability I can help people to forget some of the horrors of war I would like to do so."

Miss Downing said that during the raids she broke off her theatrical career to work in the rest centres of East London, and returned to the stage when conscription of women was started.

She was registered as a conscientious objector, and it was left to her own conscience as to what work she did during the war.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

### ACCOMMODATION

C.O., WIFE, and Child want partly furnished flat, easy travelling facilities, West End. Garden essential. Box 641 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

FOR ALL properties to be let or sold in N.W. London and Districts, apply to McCraith and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9888, 3 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

PACIFIST, bachelor, 30, requires unfurnished flat; 2 rooms and kitchenette, moderate rent; North London, Palmers Green, Southgate preferably. Write Leslie F. Pitt, 3 Argyle Rd., N.18.

### EDUCATIONAL

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3.

### FOR SALE & WANTED

CHRISTMAS GIFTS of money, books, toys, and clothes will be gratefully received by Patrick Figgis Kingsley Hall, Powis Rd., Bow, E.3.

C.O. Landworkers require for reasonable price secondhand chess set, preferably box wood. Box 645 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

RADIOGRAM or Radio Set or Electric Gramophone Motor wanted. 20 Lisson Grove, Marylebone, N.W.1.

WANTED for Christian Guest House in Cotswolds. Games, indoor and outdoor. Will anyone give or sell cheaply? Please send Old Rectory, Edgeworth, Stroud, Glos.

### LAND & COMMUNITY

WILL those interested in joining a co-operative farming enterprise with individual ownership of smallholdings please communicate Box 644 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

### LITERATURE, &c.

BOOKS loaned to C.O.s on land etc; without obligation. Write for list Marshall. 21 Wheatlands Drive, Bradford, Yorks.

### GO TO IT! NORTH LONDON REGION presents

NORTH LONDON PLAYERS in THE PASSING OF THE THIRD FLOOR BACK

by Jerome K. Jerome

the play produced by Leslie F. Pitt, L.R.A.M.

in the Theatre of the Guildhall School of Music and Drama, John Carpenter Street, E.C.4.

on Saturday, Dec. 19, at 3 p.m. Tickets: Stalls 2s.; Balcony 1s. 6d. Admission by ticket only. Obtainable from P.P.U. Endsleigh St., London Area Office and Nellie Harby, 74 Ingleton Rd., N.18.

## Freedom Through Dictatorship

To the Editor of Peace News

THE editorial (Nov. 27) on pacifist narrowness is long overdue; especially is there need for a lessening of pacifist bias against the idea of dictatorship, as the right kind of dictatorial control could achieve a greater measure of individual liberty than is anywhere found in the world today. The prime value of this type of government is its potency to secure reforms which under parliamentary democracy can be prevented by organized opposition, and a wise dictatorship could allow criticism the fullest play, not being dependent upon fluctuating "public opinion" as democracy is or is supposed to be.

Modern democracy emanates from the French Revolution, whose liberty produced military conscription, whose fraternity led to the mutual slaughter of Frenchmen in Paris, whose equality issued in the Third Republic, hardly a model of administration. All the existing dictatorships are on nationalist lines and consequently cannot bring about the great reform for which the world of intelligence is waiting, but an international dictatorship, possessed of a programme so morally defensible that secrecy could be dispensed with, could probably abolish international war, either by way of a single world government on the political plane or by the compulsory federation of all States. Individual liberty is incompatible with the system of rival sovereign governments. This reform could possibly be achieved under parliamentary democracies, but that seems unlikely because in such a system opposition is not merely vocal but may be effective.

JOHN NIBB

BM/JONIB, London, W.C.1.

## ADA SALTER

IN addition to the sense of loss which those feel who worked most closely with her, the sympathy of the Peace Pledge Union as a whole will be extended to its Treasurer, Dr. Alfred Salter MP, on the death of his wife, Ada Salter, at Balham, on Dec. 4, at the age of 75.

Only since the air raids deprived them of their home had Dr. and Mrs. Salter lived at Balham. Until then, Bermondsey was their home, and Bermondsey still claims them as two of its best-loved citizens; for, over a period of very many years, they made Bermondsey's welfare their own.

Ada Salter went from Northamptonshire in 1897 to become a resident of the Bermondsey Settlement, and on marrying Alfred Salter, in 1900, entered with him on a remarkable life of service and accomplishment in the religious, political, pacifist, and temperance spheres. By 1909 she had become the first Labour member of Bermondsey Borough Council, and later was not only its first Labour Mayor but also the first woman Mayor in London. From 1925 until three months ago she was a member of the London County Council as well as of the Borough Council.

In the last war she helped to acquire Fairby Grange, in Kent, as a social work centre for conscientious objectors. Maintaining her interest in pacifism, her drawing-room in Bermondsey was the regular meeting place of a very large PPU group.

### ADVISORY BUREAUX

Launceston individual adviser.—Melville Bickford, 17 Western Rd., Launceston.

Northallerton individual adviser.—Mrs. Margaret Walker, 3 Boston Av., Northallerton.

CHARGES: 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra).

CASH must accompany copy, except for series bookings.

LATEST TIME for copy to be received: MONDAY (but for Dec. 25 issue: SAT., Dec. 19).

### DISPLAYED ADVTs.

MAXIMUM space allowed: 3 column-inches. LATEST TIME for copy: FRIDAY (but for Dec. 25 issue: THURS., Dec. 17).

### DON'T FORGET

that MONDAY (Dec. 14) is the latest time for orders to be received at the Peace News office for the special 6-page Christmas issue to be published next week. Orders for the following issue—to be dated Dec. 25 but dispatched on Dec. 23—should be in our hands by Friday, Dec. 18.

### LITERATURE (Cont.)

DO YOU want to know "When the War will End"? If so, read the pamphlet by Joyce Wells and Vic Butler, obtainable from 47a Middleton Hall Rd., Birmingham 30, price 4d. (postage extra).

GIVE an appropriate Xmas present which will arrive 12 times in the year! Enter a 4s. subscription to the lively independent war-resisters' forum, The Tribunal, 119 Perry Vale, London, S.E.28.

PEACEMONGERING AIDS. "Pioneering For World Brotherhood," 7d. "My Daily Bread," 2d. "Why the German Republic Fell," 1s. 3d. Price includes postage. E. Crawford 27 St. John's Hill, Shrewsbury.

PRACTICAL ISSUES which face the pacifist are discussed in "The Moral Challenge of M. K. Gandhi" by Dorothy Hogg 4d, and "Freedom is in Peril" by Robert S. W. Pollard 4d. Published by the Friends Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road London, N.W.1.

XMAS TREE LAND, by Charlotte Evelyn Payne, for children aged 4 to 8. Published by A. V. H. Productions Ltd., 64 Goldsworth Rd., Woking, Surrey. Price 2s. 8d. post free.

### MEETINGS, &c.

BOOK THESE Saturdays (7.30 p.m.) at Kingsley Hall, Bow. Dec. 12, Adelphi Players, "Don Juan", 1s.; Dec. 26, Oxford Pilgrims, "Nativity Play"; Jan. 9, Robert Speaight (recital); Jan. 23, Laurence Housman (play-reading). Charing Cross to Bow Rd., 4d., District Railway.

CHISLEHURST GROUP. Stuart Morris at formation meeting, W.C.1. Dec. 16, 7.30. 9 Marlings Park Av., Chislehurst.

CROYDON Friends Meeting House, Park Lane, Sat., Dec. 19, 2.30 p.m. Sale of toys, and Christmas party for Friends War Relief Service funds.

EX-PRISON C.O.s invited to reunion breakfast meeting Sun., Dec. 20, 8.30-10.30 a.m. at 1 Endsleigh St. Bring breakfast, tea provided. Speaker Mr. T. Corder Catchpool, FOR A Revolutionary Youth Movement. Anarchist Youth Rally, Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq., Holborn, Sun., Dec. 13, 3 p.m. Opening speakers, questions, and discussion. Admission free.

TAVISTOCK LITTLE THEATRE, Tavistock Pl., W.C.1. "Masses and Man" by Ernst Toller, Fri., Dec. 18 at 7 p.m. All seats bookable in advance (Eus. 1816). Price 1s. 6d.

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### PERSONAL

INTRODUCTIONS by post between pacifists, progressives, and other PN readers. Profits for Peace. Stamp brings particulars. Box 554 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

TOYS for Xmas. Write for list. The Community Workshop, Box 643 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

YOUNG MAN (27), pacifist, music-lover, desires companionship young lady, similar views. Malden district, Surrey. Box 640 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

### SITUATIONS VACANT

ASSISTANT Matron wanted for men's hostel. Opportunities for study. Apply Matron, St. Deiniol's Library, Hawarden, Chester.

COLLECTOR required for General Dealers; drive car, asset not essential; C.O. unconditional accepted. Box 639 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

COOK wanted for experimental school for East Enders, twelve children, five adults, modern Savex range. Isolated country place. 5s. a week and keep. Richard Phibbs, Beer Farm School, Dulverton, Somerset.

CYCLE Mechanic or Lad. Age, experience if any, to Ferris, 267, Bath Rd., Hounslow, Middx. HOU 3889.

EXPERIENCED GARDENER required. The Marian Sykes Guest House, Ross-on-Wye.

SOCIAL WORKER (London area) in connexion with Men's Hostel and Canteen. Furnished room, food and salary offered. Box 632 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WORKING HOUSEKEEPER wanted in small vegetarian family near London; live in. Write stating age and experience and salary to Mrs. Cox, 2 Sollershot West, Letchworth (in first case).

YOUNG, progressive, hard-working couple, or single man and woman, for interesting, varied work small Co-ed. home-school. Share teaching, domestic work etc., live communally. Freemount School, Bacton, Hereford.

YOUNG WOMAN helper for general domestic and social work at Lincolnshire farm training hostel for refugee and evacuee children. International Commission, 67 Brook St., London W.1.

### SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

ADVERTISER, 23, seeks opportunity social service, interesting constructive occupation, or light agricultural work. London or Essex. Previous experience architecture, surveying, estate management; bookkeeping, etc. Good references. Box 642 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O. offers expert Income Tax advice, moderate fees. Gadsden, Windyridge, Mount Pleasant, Ashurst Wood, East Grinstead, Sussex.

C.O. requires work in land surveying urgently; specific conditional exemption; Midlands preferably; can drive car. Reply to G. L. Parker, 43 Sycamore Av., Chesterfield.

INTELLIGENT WOMAN, 44, desires post as Housekeeper to widower or pacifist community. Experienced, capable, good cook. Not London. Box 625 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

### WHERE TO STAY

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holiday or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate; Tel. Ambergate 44).

LAKE DISTRICT: "Beck Allans," Grasmere. Vegetarian Guest House open all the year round for strenuous or restful holidays amid some of England's finest scenery. H. and C. water all bedrooms. Write: Isabel James. Phone: Grasmere 129.

### MISCELLANEOUS

UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD. Join The Movement and help to build the New World. Write today for Manifesto, to Hon. Organizer, 91 Circle Gdns., London S.W.19.

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